Sept. 29, 1917
Sept. 22, 1917

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S FOUNDED 1870

SUFFRAGE SCORES DOUBLE VICTORY

IN THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

Official Organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE *and* HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, Betty Graeme, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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171 Madison Avenue

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Double Victory in the United States Senate

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2. and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

In the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

IN THE HOUSE:

In the Judiciary Committee.

June 6, the Rules Committee voted to report favorably, "as soon as the pending war legislation is disposed of," Representative Raker's resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House.

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Sept 22 1917

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

September 22, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Forward March!

ANOTHER battle in the war for world's democracy has been lost. Maine men voted against self-government for Maine women on September 10. The act impugns the average intelligence and patriotism of the state and stirs the suspicion that the claim that the nation is fighting for democracy is to many men mere fine phrasing whose real meaning is beyond their comprehension. Certainly a majority of the men who took the trouble to vote in Maine announced to the world that so far as they are concerned the claim is mere "buncombe." This majority, seeing Maine's quota of soldiers departing to fight that the world may be "made safe for democracy," stayed at home and voted to "keep it safe for hypocrisy." This is the way posterity will interpret the vote.

It is well to ask what happened there. The suffragists of Maine, through two hundred and eighty-five committees in as many towns, presented to the public in literature, public speech and the press, these proved facts:

1, That no state or country which has extended the vote to women has ever taken it away;

2, That the women in nearly half our own country are now voters on equal terms with men and that many women in other states are vested with partial suffrage;

3, That suffrage for women is spreading the wide world over;

4, That legislatures and parliaments, by resolution, and thousands of the best men and women of every suffrage state and country, have testified over and over that woman suffrage has brought no harm of any kind, but has benefited women, men, children, and the state;

5, That hardly a reputable person in any state or country where women vote has been found after five years' trial to come out in opposition to it;

6, That the war has killed the war argument against woman suffrage, as has been frankly and generously conceded by the great men of Great Britain, Canada and France;

7, That women have always used the vote when they have had the chance;

8, That the women of Maine want the vote, as evidenced by petitions to the voters in every county, signed by thousands of women.

The antis promulgated, by a house-to-house distribution of printed matter, the charges:

1, That the leaders of the suffrage movement were anti-government, pro-German, peace-at-any-price people, free lovers, opposed to marriage and in league with I. W. W.'s;

2, That women did not want to vote;

3, That women did not vote when they had a chance;

4, That men in suffrage states are so intimidated by the woman vote (which the antis claim doesn't exist) that they do not dare to condemn it;

5, That women are not public-spirited, would not support moral measures and that governments where women vote are weak and unstable;

6, That the vote would place an unbearable burden upon women.

THE methods of the suffragists were clean, dignified, high-minded. In every speech and page of literature there was an appeal to rational thinking. Their work was done in the open with meetings held in school houses and churches and halls. Their plea was always to the highest.

The opposition circulated the most vituperative literature yet appearing in a suffrage campaign. Every speech and page carried appeals to the lowest motives, prejudices and superstitions. The weakness of their cause was masked by lurid attacks upon suffrage leaders.

The paid male maligner of Colorado women made his usual rounds and behind closed doors told Maine men the same untruths which have been repudiated *ad nauseam* over and over by Colorado men. Most of the press was favorable and two papers of large circulation, the Lewiston *Journal* and Kennebec *Journal*, fought valiantly for the amendment. Some papers were bitterly opposed and one Democratic paper refused to print the President's letter urging Democrats to stand by the platform of the party even as a paid advertisement. The Republican Governor was a known advocate of the amendment, as was the chairman of the Democratic Central Committee. The real political machines, however, were opposed and the lower type of politician worked against it and found the ignorant classes easy to manipulate. The usual incident of men "carrying water on both shoulders" was conspicuous in Maine as elsewhere. Women there were, as always, who gave their all, and brave men who splendidly defended the cause of democracy. Other women there were who want the vote, yet left the sacrifices to be borne by others. Men, too, who say heartily that they believe in woman suffrage, neglected to go to the polls and vote for it.

These are signs and symptoms in all battles for freedom. Those believing in a cause are many, those willing to give, or to give up for it, are few.

MANY hotels under suspicion for illegal selling of liquor were reported as centers of the anti-propaganda and men who had been indicted for violation of the prohibition law were busy agents of the opposition.

Certain women lent themselves to the base uses of the lowest type of politics by maintaining an *entente cordiale* with it. If the alliance was formed with their consent, they stand convicted of a knavery which supports their contention that women are short on moral sense; if it existed without their knowledge, they stand convicted of a stupidity which nearly justifies their own claim of woman's inanity.

Between these two forces, Maine men were privileged to judge. Most of them "took to the woods"; the minority who came to the polls gave its verdict for the anti-entente.

THE vote was one of the lightest ever cast. The vote for Governor and United States Senator a year ago was 150,000. The vote on suffrage was 55,659, of which 19,278 voted "yes," 36,387 "no," a little less than two to one against. Thirty-eight thousand women petitioned the voters to extend the suffrage to them. This was twice as many as the men voting yes, and 2,000 more than those voting no. The Kennebec *Journal*, splendid, fearless friend of our cause, comments as follows:

"The antis made their chief claim in the campaign that suffrage is a 'burden.' The voters accepted the doctrine apparently, for only one-third of Maine's citizenship enjoying the franchise burdened themselves with the duty of passing judgment upon important constitutional questions. So we see that suffrage is as much of a 'burden' on men as it is on women. If suffrage interferes with household cares it also interferes with the harvesting of crops, with the hours of service in shops and mills and stores. The voter seems to have said: 'It is too much trouble to bother with the government; let George do it'—and George DID.

"Maine has never had a better argument for equal suffrage than Monday's spectacle of the farce of male suffrage. We may explain and excuse and claim this or that, but the fact remains that Monday's balloting was a pitiable display of the lack of justice, wisdom, interest and grasp of the democratic privileges of government. Men will take up the 'burden' of voting for friends who want jobs and at the insistent hammering of politicians to maintain political organization, but, they would not bother with questions on which the moral and progressive future of their children depends."

DID the campaign pay? Aye, it brought enlightenment on the subject to men and women who needed it. It put the cause forward in Maine despite the vote, but greatest of all, it stung the souls of thousands of women in Maine and hundreds of thousands elsewhere into a clear, though startled, comprehension that they have done male majorities too much credit when they have supposed them actuated by honest misgivings on the subject of woman suffrage.

Thirty-six thousand Maine men said to thirty-eight thousand Maine women, "You want the vote. We know it. There isn't an argument which will hold water why you shouldn't have it. Women of other states and nations have it. You are as worthy as they, but have it you shall not."

One experienced observer testified that she made several visits to each voting booth in Bangor on the day of election. Her comment is "The lower half and the lowest third of the electorate voted in Maine. This was the class which decided the question in Bangor. The better, more thinking classes did not take sufficient interest to drop their own personal affairs long enough to vote." Other towns make the same report. The opposition interest of these classes has not been changed by speeches, press or literature. Their attitude is the inherited notion that it is man's right to rule, woman's duty to obey. It is a long way from the groping cave man to the rational thinker, and all the distance has not been traveled in Maine.

Women seeing, women hearing, all over our land are for the moment bowled over with the appalling insult of it all. Then they rise with a new fire in their eyes, a new determination in their souls. There will be no pause or compromise. Men may vote for hypocrisy, but women are fighting for democracy and the army is larger today and stronger and braver than it was on September 10.

A battle has been lost. Forget it. Others lie ahead. Forward march! "Failure is impossible." C. C. C.

In Connecticut

THE press announces that some officers of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, including Mrs. Hepburn, the president, have resigned their posts in order to join the militant suffrage group. We are not informed as to the causes which led up to this decision.

It is sad that there should be any division in the suffrage army on the subject of tactics, especially now when we are approaching our last battle. The division may or may not delay the final victory; time alone will determine that point. The tragedy lies in the fact that workers are robbed of the sustaining power which a united comradeship and a common devotion to a great cause bring. This has ever been the personal reward of reformers. They get no other. Hard feelings, suspicion, misunderstandings never fail to attend division of the forces.

It is a pity, yet the difference of tactics is now so fundamental that we are forced to approve of an action which clears the situation in Connecticut. One officer is reported to have said, "I cannot ride two horses any longer." She is right. Here and there, other women are trying to ride two horses and are riding both perilously. They, too, should make their choice of what to them is the best and surest-footed horse. A united support of policy is the chief strength of any organization; a divided support means inevitable weakness.

The only guide for our earthly acts is our own reason. Therefore we may sorrow, but cannot condemn when so able a woman and faithful a worker as Mrs. Hepburn follows her judgment into a camp which our reason and patriotism repudiate as false in theory and pernicious in practice. C. C. C.

A Valiant Record

NO history of the suffrage movement can ever record the work of the multitude of good women who have put their labor and their hearts into it. Miss Mary Hilton, of Campello, Mass., who has just passed away, was typical. Superior, both in heart and brains, she had been for many years a teacher, then the keeper of a successful store, always respected and beloved by her townspeople. In her 80th year, she faced her approaching death with calmness and courage. Almost her last act was to send a quantity of copies of the *Woman Citizen* to Maine. A great host of noble women, all over the land, are working quietly for this good cause, each in her own place; and when the victory comes, it will be largely due to their patient and untiring labors.

A. S. B.

Do Women Want Suffrage?

ACTIONS speak louder than words. In words the opponents of equal rights stoutly maintain that the great majority of women are opposed to the ballot; but by their acts they constantly show that they do not believe it.

In reporting the recent vote on equal suffrage in Maine, the Boston *Herald* of September 11 says:

"Another strong influence against suffrage, of which little has been said in public discussions, was the prevailing impression that Governor Milliken was depending on the votes of the women to strengthen his political machine. Mr. Milliken is now serving his first term as Governor, but it is commonly understood that he will try to break into the United States Senate as soon as the first opportunity offers. He has been the leader in the suffrage movement among the public men of the state, and, had women obtained the vote, he could presumably have commanded their support for almost anything he asked for. As the present Senator, Fernald, comes up for renomination and re-election within a year and Senator Hale within five years, the friends of both united to quite a large extent against putting the ballot in the hands of women."

If 80 per cent. of Maine women were opposed to equal suffrage, it might naturally be supposed that any man supporting it would ruin all his political chances, and that the women would proceed to punish him for "thrusting" the ballot upon them against their will. But the opponents of equal rights assumed that just the opposite would happen.

In England the House of Commons lately voted for woman suffrage, seven to one. The bill gives the franchise only to women over thirty years of age, but the opponents all declared that this would inevitably be followed by its extension to all women. Why? Obviously, it could only be for one of two reasons. The women over thirty might use their votes to extend suffrage to all women; but that does not square with the theory that most women are opposed to the ballot. Or the women over thirty might acquit themselves so well as voters that the men would insist upon extending suffrage to all women; but this does not square with the theory that women's votes would prove disastrous.

Some opponents of equal rights try to out get of this dilemma by saying that the anti-suffrage women are in the majority, but that they would not vote, while the suffrage women would. This implies that the anti-suffrage women are not conscientious, for we have been told over and over again that when women have a vote it will be every woman's duty to use it.

No, there is no escape from the quandary in which the opponents of equal rights have put themselves. And they make it worse by urging people to vote against suffrage on the ground that, once granted, it can never be repealed. Since the majority could repeal it whenever they wished, this implies that the majority will never wish to do so. Whether the majority of women want the ballot now or not, the anti-suffragists are convinced that after they once have experience of it they will never consent to give it up.

A. S. B.

The World Moves

UNANIMOUSLY, without opposition, the United States Senate votes to let the Hawaiian Legislature take action in favor of woman suffrage. Yet, it is only a few years since we were waxing indignant over the singularly iron-clad provisions laid down for Hawaii, which seemed designed on purpose to make it impossible for the women ever to get a vote. Time passes on, and what stood against us like an iron wall now dissolves like a mist. Thus every defeat will at last be swallowed up in victory.

A. S. B.

Sweden and Suffrage

THE recent surprising developments in regard to the passage of German messages through Swedish legations are reminding the public that the common people of Sweden are said to be in sympathy with the Allies, while the throne and the aristocracy are in sympathy with the Germans. In this connection the suffragists will recall the fact that the lower house of the Swedish Parliament has over and over again passed a woman suffrage bill by huge majorities, and every time it has been blocked by the non-representative upper house. All kinds of aristocracies and tyrannies hang together.

A. S. B.

Suffrage and the I. W. W.

THE opponents of equal rights are thoroughly reckless in their statements. Over and over again they have asserted that equal suffrage has the support of the I. W. W. Now, as it happens, the I. W. W. is one of the few large labor organizations that never have endorsed woman suffrage. This probably is not because the I. W. W. are more hostile to woman suffrage than other labor organizations, but because they do not place much reliance upon the ballot as a method of securing improvements; they have more faith in "direct action." On the other hand the conservative labor society, the American Federation of Labor, endorses woman suffrage at every annual meeting, by an almost unanimous vote.

Here is something for the opponents of equal rights to explain if they can.

A. S. B.

"Safety First"

"SAFETY FIRST" appears to be the motto of the citizens of Berkeley, Cal., where women vote. Every policeman in that city now has an automobile which he uses on his beat. The city furnishes gasoline and oil, while the policeman furnishes the automobile. Each machine carries a fire extinguisher, first-aid kit and an emergency ladder. The arrangement is said to work well.

A. S. B.

Double Victory in United States Senate

SEPTEMBER 13TH was red-letter day for suffrage in the United States Senate. Two stirring victories were scored. One, the vote of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage to report on the federal suffrage amendment with favorable recommendation; the other, the passage by the Senate of Senator Shafroth's bill authorizing the Hawaiian Legislature to give women who have property and other qualifications of men the right to vote in territorial elections, and to submit to the Territory the question of giving women unrestricted suffrage there.

"The action of the Suffrage Committee of the Senate in voting to report the bill favorably," says Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, "comes at the psychological moment to show that United States Congressmen are no longer shutting their eyes to the justice of the National American Woman Suffrage Association's contention that the federal suffrage amendment offers the fair and economical expedient for dealing with the suffrage question in the United States."

Senator Jones, of New Mexico, chairman of the Senate's Woman Suffrage Committee, at once voiced his intention to present the committee's report at the earliest possible opportunity.

That opportunity came on September 15, when the following report was submitted by Mr. Jones: "The Committee on Woman Suffrage, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 2) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage, having had same under consideration, beg leave to report it back to the Senate with the recommendation that the joint resolution do pass."

The next step toward providing facilities for action will be the formation of a Suffrage Committee for the House, so that the suffrage amendment can be transferred from the Judiciary Committee, where it has long languished, to its own Committee. These were the two steps urged on the attention of the present session of Congress by the National American Woman Suffrage Association and success has attended the Association's efforts in both instances.

The creation of a Suffrage Committee for the House, after pending military legislation was disposed of, was decided on as far back as June by a majority vote of the Rules Committee. The actual formation of this Committee will be secured when the Rules Committee presents its recommendation to the House and the House adopts it.

It is to the group of women who act at Washington as the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that the victory in the Senate is immediately due. To them, too, is due the Senate action secured on Senator Shafroth's Hawaiian bill. To their efforts, in fact, can be traced every tangible gain secured for the federal suffrage amendment in either Senate or House during the present session. They are led by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Massachusetts.

Temporarily, the Congressional Committee has been headed by Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, of Pennsylvania, who served as chairman in the absence of Mrs. Maud Wood Park, permanent chairman. Other members of the Committee are: Miss Heloise Meyer and Miss Mabel Caldwell Willard, of Massachusetts; Mrs. Medill McCormick, of Illinois; Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, of Washington; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Miss Mary Garrett Hay and Mrs. Robert Griffin, of New York; Mrs. Winston Churchill of New Hampshire; Miss Martha Morris, of Ohio; Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska; Mrs. Charles W. McClure, of Michigan, Miss Ethel M. Smith, of Washington, D. C. and Miss Ruth White, of Missouri. Besides the direct committee members there is a congressional chairman in each state serving for the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 48 in all, and 180 aides who come in from the different states, group by group, to help lobby for the amendment.

Suffrage Victory for Hawaii

ON September 13 the Senate passed Senator Shafroth's bill authorizing the Hawaiian Legislature to give women who have property and "other qualifications of men" the right to vote in territorial elections. It also authorizes the Legislature to submit to the territory the question of giving women unrestricted suffrage there.

"The passage of the bill authorizing the Hawaiian Legislature to give women equal political rights with men marks a further step toward making the world safe for democracy," says Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Senator Shafroth, author of the bill, immediately reported its successful passage to the headquarters of the National Suffrage Association, assuring its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, that the success of the measure was due to their efforts. The news was received with rejoicing, and the passage of the bill without debate or objection was interpreted as a promising omen of the attitude of the Senate toward the Federal Suffrage Amendment when it comes to a vote in the next session.

Dr. Shaw prophesies that the close of the present war will find the principle of equal suffrage accepted in all the belligerent countries, as it is already accepted in Great Britain and in Russia.

Endorses Nation-wide Suffrage

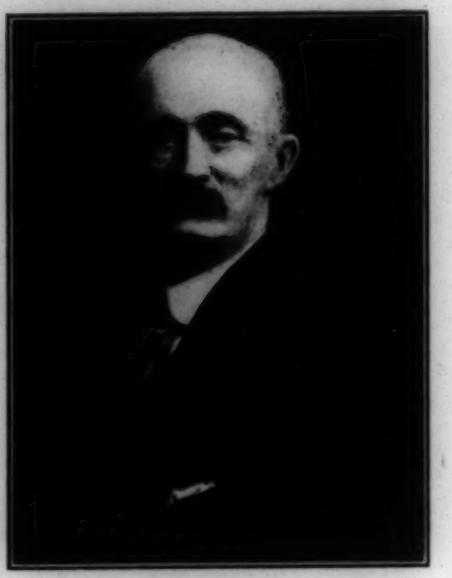
THE White River Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, meeting at Indianapolis, Indiana, on August 31, passed the following resolution:

"Since we appreciate and approve the valor and wisdom displayed on the part of the last Legislature of this great state of Indiana, when it enacted a law fully enfranchising our noble women; therefore be it resolved,

"That we, the members of the White River annual conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, now in session in Indianapolis, Ind., most heartily urge the passing of the federal amendment by our national congress at its present session, thereby granting full suffrage to the women of every state in the union."

Australian Senate's Action

A RESOLUTION in support of the enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain was brought forward in the Australian Senate by Senator Gardner, late Assistant Minister of Defense and leader of the opposition in the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. Parliament was dissolved before the resolution could be dealt with, but it stands upon the notice paper for the consideration of the new Senate on its assembly.



MR. E. Q. NORTON

Ultimate Sovereignty

IN an address of outstanding importance, delivered by E. Q. Norton before the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association in Mobile, Mr. Norton sought to prove that women everywhere, and particularly women in Alabama, should no longer be deprived of the ballot. His thesis, worked out with admirable precision, was based on the provisions of the Federal constitution, the Alabama constitution and the fundamental principles of equity.

Pursuing a familiar, but irrefutable, chain of logic, Mr. Norton showed that the Federal constitution itself fixes the rights of women. As "persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction," they are citizens; as citizens, their "privileges cannot be abridged or denied," and since "ultimate sovereignty resides in the people from whom springs all legitimate authority," no fraction of the people can rightfully assume this sovereignty to be theirs alone. At the idea that "people" can legitimately be interpreted to mean men only, Mr. Norton scoffs. "It has been claimed," he said, "that the elective franchise is not a right but a privilege conferred by the state, but this ignores the very point in dispute, which is that women should be included among citizens constituting the state, as it is clearly unjust for one half of the people to determine as to whether or not the other half shall be denied its privileges. Whether the elective franchise is or is not a right, it must be conceded that it is the most effective means of protecting and perpetuating rights, rights about which there is no dispute. In a country where political rights and civic questions are settled at the ballot box, it is a monstrous wrong to deprive women of an equal participation in this method of deciding such questions."

"It is clear," says Mr. Norton, "that the adoption some time in the past by some of the people of a constitution which gives to some citizens privileges it denies to others, is so manifestly unjust that it cannot long be upheld." Such a delimitation of privileges to males could only stand if women, as part of the sovereign people, had consented at the ballot box to permit it. And even if they had once so determined, that would be no bar to the reversal of such a vote now.

Canada's "Disfranchising" Bill

SIR ROBERT BORDEN'S war-time elections act, presented to the House of Commons in Ottawa on September 6, is not pleasing either eastern or western provinces, according to a Toronto suffragist, Miss Bessie Hatch, now probation officer at Summit, New Jersey.

In an interview given the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she explained that "the bill robs Peterina to pay Pauline," and suits neither; for while it gives a measure of franchise to the women of the eastern provinces who have none, it takes away from the already enfranchised women of the five equal suffrage provinces, and by no means fulfills Sir Robert's promise to women that before Parliament ended the Government would provide a general measure of woman suffrage.

"Moreover, the rumor is persistent in Canada that it does not even please Sir Robert himself, and that he shoved the presentation of it off on Hon. Arthur Meighen, the new Secretary of State."

The bill, which is nicknamed "the disfranchising bill" by some Canadian newspapers and will be valid only in war time, has for its outstanding features the disfranchisement, in provinces where women now have votes, of all women who are not wives, mothers, sisters or daughters of men who serve in the overseas Canadian forces; the enfranchisement in all provinces where they have not votes at present of all women who are wives, widows, mothers, sisters or daughters of men who serve in the overseas forces; the disfranchisement of all Canadian citizens of alien enemy birth or blood who have been naturalized since March 31, 1902, a period of 15 years, and the disfranchisement of all exempted from the operation of the military service act by reason of conscientious objection and of all who may be convicted of offenses under the military service act.

"Two features of the bill peculiarly distasteful to Canadian women," says the Toronto suffragist, "are the refusal of the vote merely because they do not happen to have male relatives of fighting age, to many loyal women, now bending all their energies towards winning the war, and the reactionary character of the bill itself.

"Women of five provinces were given the vote as a matter of justice. Canadian women have already demonstrated their usefulness to the state in time of war. But on the new basis of the new bill the vote is granted them not as individual members of the state but as relatives of soldiers. It is a long step backward in its conception of women as citizens.

"Moreover it puts many splendid patriotic women in the class with the slacker, the alien, and the man exempted from war service." Canadian women are loyal. Women of Ontario province, at a conservation convention as long ago as July, put themselves on record as desiring "to express to the Government of Canada their earnest hope that conscription will be passed, and, realizing the desperate need that exists in the fighting line, to urge that the said bill be put into full force at the earliest possible moment."

Within the past ten days, at the convention of the Ontario Women Citizen's League, the following whole-hearted patriotic resolutions were passed:

"Resolved, That this public meeting favors the formation of a Win-the-War Government, to be composed of the most competent men, representative of the various provinces of the Dominion, and chosen without reference to party politics; and, further, this meeting pledges to support such candidates.

"That this public meeting, called under the auspices of the Ontario Women Citizens' League, expresses its hearty support of the military service act, and calls upon the Government to enforce it immediately. Further, the meeting expresses its abhorrence of any consideration of a compromise peace, and its belief that lasting peace can only come as a result of the victory of the Allies, and that the terms of peace must include the restitution of all devastated countries now in the hands of the enemy."

Both parties have promised women the vote. The enfranchisement of Ontario women was projected by Hon. N. W. Rowell, Liberal leader, and was taken up and put through under Premier Hearst, representing the Government.

Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfred Laurier, leaders of the two national parties, are also committed to the enfranchisement of Canadian women.

"As valiant win-the-war women they have deserved something better from the Conservatives than the present bill," says Miss Hatch. "In the words of the Toronto *Globe*, 'The Solicitor-General promises women the ballot after the war. Surely the women of Canada have earned it by their magnificently patriotic spirit and their war work. British women are given it by a grateful nation. Why are their Canadian sisters slighted? The exception in favor of the women relatives of the soldiers will be welcome, but there should be no restrictions upon one sex that do not apply to the other.'"

Policewomen to Protect Girls

THE Mayor's Committee of Women on National Defense has announced that it has requested Commissioner Woods to include in his budget for the coming year an appropriation for the appointment as members of the force of at least six women to work among girls who loiter about armories and soldiers' camps in the city of New York.

Two policewomen have already been appointed—Mrs. Cook and Mrs. Douglass. This is a war measure for protection of girls around soldiers' quarters. Ossining, N. Y., already has policewomen.

The Woman's Battle

THE suffragists now have an effective presidential vote. . . . They have the prospects of early triumph in other States. . . . They have the prestige of their victory in England. Rapidly the woman's battle is taking its place as a historic episode to be catalogued with the struggle for manhood suffrage characteristic of the America of the first half of the nineteenth century."—*Chicago Herald.*

The Time Is at Hand

The time may be close upon us when equal suffrage will rule throughout the country. If American women will follow the example of their English sisters and the advice of their national president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, they will bring the male population of the nation to their side in brief time. There are going to be many opportunities for women to prove their right to the ballot before the war ends.—*Grand Rapids* (Mich.) *Herald.*

KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN

Famous Convert

EVEN if the vote proves a burden, one more able woman rises gallantly to meet the responsibility. Kate Douglas Wiggin—famous the world over as author and for long the bright particular boast of the antis—has been won to suffrage.

What makes her conversion the strongest kind of testimony is the fact that it was so hard wrung. She didn't want to be a suffragist and says so frankly. It was very difficult for her to change her point of view, "built up through the years by every sort of circumstance, environment, field of work, and temperamental leaning." But it had to be. The evidence of the need of votes for women was there and when she saw that it was incontrovertible she stopped trying to controvert it. She has sent the National American Woman Suffrage Association the following statement:

"The entirely new conditions that confront the woman of to-day; the added activities and responsibilities that will inevitably fall to her lot; these more or less silent arguments convince me that, even if the vote should prove a burden, it is my plain duty to stand for equal suffrage."

(Signed) KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN.

The Practical Ways of Women

A practical patriotism shown by the women's section of the New Mexico State Council of National Defense consists in marketing the state's fruit crop.

These women have undertaken to find a buyer for every box of fruit in the mountain districts which is fit to ship. The mountain fruit-growing districts are scattered and the crop is so difficult to market that motor trucks are to be sent out to transport the fruit to shipping districts.

THE "WEAK AND NERVELESS HANDS" OF WOMEN

This picture was taken on the tour of the American Mission through Russia. One of the Army officers attached to Mr. Root's mission is watching women clean the train.

Before Mr. Root went to Russia, he said: "In the distribution of powers, of capacities, of qualities, our Maker has created man adapted to the performance of certain functions in the economy of nature and society, and woman adapted to the performance of other functions.

"In the divine distribution of powers, the duty and the right of protection rests with the male. I, for one, will never consent to part with the divine right of protecting my wife, my daughter, exercising the birthright of man, and place that high duty in the weak and nerveless hands of those designed by God to be protected."

The weak and nerveless hands of women have always been accounted strong enough to do the scrubbing, and in the divine distribution of powers Russian women have had to spring into the breach to exercise the divine right of protecting Russia.

THE CALL TO ARMS OF VOTING WOMEN

Russian women are not only suffragists but voters. This is the call to arms of the Russian Women's Union of Military Volunteers:

"Women citizens, we ask all those to whom the liberty and prosperity of Russia are dear to come and put a stop, while there is yet time, to the disintegration of our dear country. By an active participation in the war, sacrificing our lives, we must raise the morale of the armies, and by carrying on a rightly directed propaganda in the ranks, we must arouse a consciousness of duty to their country in all free citizens.

BRITISH WOMEN'S ARMY AUXILIARY CORPS

All the recruting for the British Women's Army is looked after officially by the British Ministry of Labor. The Corps is entirely military, according to Mrs. Chalmers Watson, Chief Controller of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, except on the financial side. "The pay is on a civil basis," she said. "We had thought it might have been possible to have the women recruited on exactly the same terms as the men, with Army pay and separation allowances where necessary, but this was not considered advisable by the financial authorities at the War Office."

When the Ministry of Labor requires woman's help, it sends out a call for a certain number of women. After the preliminary sorting of women recruits has been made, the selection board of the women's army corps, sees them and those chosen undergo a medical examination. Women enlisting for foreign service go into an overseas depot for three weeks and are inoculated."

VOTING COUNTRIES ARE PATRIOTIC

In New Zealand, where women have voted for 22 years, one out of every 13 men has gone to the war.

In the five provinces of Canada which have given women the ballot, one out of every 14 men is a soldier.

In Quebec, a non-suffrage province, one out of every 136 men is at the front.

At the convention of the Ontario Women Citizens' League, early in September, these newly enfranchised women passed a resolution setting forth:

"That this public meeting, called under the auspices of the Ontario Women Citizens' League, expresses its hearty support of the military service act, and calls upon the Government to endorse it immediately. Further, the meeting expresses its abhorrence of any consideration of a compromise peace, and its belief that lasting peace can only come as a result of the victory of the Allies, and that the terms of peace must include restitution of all devastated countries now in the hands of the enemy."

Will the Women of Russi

IMMORTAL DEATH BATTALION STOPPED GERMANS

When the Germans had taken Riga and the whole world was holding its breath in the early days of September, a New York City newsaper featured a map showing the towns of Segevold and Burtnetsk, where it was reported that Russian women soldiers had helped to stop the advance of German troops. "An offensive in the Riga district," ran the news dispatch, "has been started by the Death Battalion of Russian women. The Germans were forced back in a southerly direction towards Riga in an attack at Segevold and a battle is now being fought at Burtnetsk for the Pskoff road. In several clashes the women met and overthrew the foe, according to the Petrograd War Office."

This official announcement, published in America on September 11, was followed on the same day by word that Madame Vera Botchkareva, commander of the woman's battalion, had herself gone in person to Moscow to obtain more women fighters. "We will," said she, "assemble more women, every one of whom will die if need be for Russia's freedom."

On the day when General Korniloff was said to be marching on Petrograd, 1,100 women put themselves at the disposal of the War Ministry. They were reviewed by the chief of staff, who declared them "one of the most perfectly disciplined and trained units around Petrograd."

These women soldiers have made up their minds to be loyal to the provisional government and obey the orders of Premier Kerensky.

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY, GRANDMOTHER OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

STANDING BY THE GOVERNMENT

Madame Botchkareva has been made sub-lieutenant by the Ministry of War and has also been decorated by the Cross of St. George. She entered the war after her husband, a Russian soldier, was killed, and has been twice wounded in battle. The breast of her soldier's blouse is almost covered with medals, some of which she won in the engagement when her fighting legion took 100 German prisoners. Those who follow her in battle say she fears nothing and "absolutely disdains death."

Madame Catherine Breshkovsky, the Grandmother of the Revolution, has appealed to the Government to help the army conquer the enemy. She is standing loyally by the Government.

On one of the grim days of unexcited preparation for the attacks upon Petrograd this September, a reporter for a New York paper, who was at the Winter Palace, went into Madame Breshkovsky's room.

She was gone, but a gentle, white-haired lady who sat there declared: "The Grandmother of the Revolution says we mustn't make terms with Korniloff. We will not."

MADAME VERA BO
REVA, COMMANDER
BATTALION OF D

TAKING CARE OF SOLDIERS'
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RUSSIAN WOMEN SOLDIERS IN SKIRMISH FORMATION, BEING TRAINED TO HANDLE THEIR RIFLES IN ANY POSITION.

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WOMEN'S ARMY A NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Most of the world has thought of the Russian women fighters as an extreme symptom of a desperate and abnormal situation. Mrs. Henry Fawcett, the leader of the non-militant English suffragists, says in the official bulletin of her organization that "it is only recently that it has become evident that their daring exploits are not isolated instances of bravery, but form a part of an organized woman's movement."

Early in the war thrilling incidents of the heroism of Russian women crept into public print. There was the tale of Alexandra Ehimova, who won for herself a commission in a Cossack regiment, and was believed to be an isolated instance of temperamental daring, a Mollie Pitcher of Russia.

"But with the first signs of wavering in the Russian Army," says Mrs. Fawcett, "all Russian women began to incline towards sharing in the war, not merely as auxiliary workers, but as active members of the fighting units, and when Madame Botchkareva formed her women's Battalion of Death, she was but leading a movement which has behind it the country's womanhood."

"The Battalion of Death went up to the front to fill a gap left by deserters. It took its share of prisoners, it suffered its share of losses. It only differed from a men's battalion in leaving no captives in German hands. Each woman soldier had with her a poison ration, and when capture seemed imminent she used her last means of avoiding it."

DR. SCHISCHKINA YAVEIN AND SOME OF HER WOUNDED SOLDIERS

NOT YET OFFICIALLY EXISTENT

Women have gone on fighting for the country in its darkest hours, but up to the present no report shows them to have been officially accepted as part of the Russian Army. More of them and then still more of them, with their hair cropped close, their wide breeches, their coarse soldier blouses and their ineluctable record of courage and daring, forced themselves to the front individually. After a while they began to drift together as women's battalions. They are now drilling seven hours a day by the thousands in Moscow and in Petrograd.

By the summer of this year they had been accepted as sailors by Premier Kerensky and thus had attempted a new form of service. They have offered to train a battleship crew and their offer has been accepted—a bewildering instance of the ways of governments in accepting the services of women who are to them officially non-existent.

"Official recognition cannot long be denied them," says Mrs. Fawcett, leader of the English suffragists.

"The services of Russian women are too valuable to be refused and their spirit is too fine to admit of criticism. Slaughter may not be woman's work, but the woman who will sacrifice herself on the altar of patriotism is a heroine self-evident."

RUSSIAN NOBLEWOMEN WORKING FOR THE RED CROSS

Russian women do not confine their service to the battlefield. When Russia first went into the war, Madame Schischkina Yavein, president of the "Defenders of Women's Rights," the Russian branch of the International Suffrage Alliance, put the whole force of her association into war relief. She herself is a physician and has carried on a hospital for wounded soldiers.

The Council of Women was formed in May, 1917, to organize all classes of women's work. Women of the nobility of Russia are seen in the picture hard at work, making bandages and respirators for troops at the front.

Madame Kerensky, it is reported by the Paris *Matin*, has joined the regiment as a nurse and has undertaken to remain, if necessary, in the trenches by these soldier women.

One of the first acts of the new Russian government was to establish a commission under the presidency of a woman for universal conscription of woman labor during the war. On one phase of women's war labor Catherine Breshkovsky says, "It is one thing to know liberty and another to know the use of liberty. I have proposed to the government that just as young men enter the army, so the young women must give three years' service as teachers of democracy in the provinces and in the villages."

ITALIAN WOMEN SUFFRAGISTS REFUSE TO TALK OF PEACE

Teresa Fabriola, Romelia Troise and Mario Bianchi Miane have replied negatively, in the name of the Italian Suffrage Federation, to a message from Austrian suffragists, intimating that if Italian suffragists would promote meetings in favor of peace, the Austrian suffrage organization would do the same. The Italian statement reads:

"From the time of (Italian) neutrality the Italian suffragists have understood the moral greatness of the present war, and with a full and mature political consciousness, have been and are with the government that favors war and will conduct it to a victorious peace. We heartily cheer our glorious army, which in the days of victory is renewing the bravery of the Italian race, and we recall with devoted affection the martyrs of Austrian despotism."

A WOMAN'S BATTALION FOR CANADA

Women of Vancouver will fight in the trenches if they are needed, says a recent report. They have organized a battalion of women, namely, mothers, sisters and wives of soldiers. Already they are equipped with uniforms, the cost of regular military style, a plain skirt, leg boots and wide brimmed hat.

Women recruiting officers will be sent out to raise other battalions. "If we are not needed in the trenches," they say, "the training will be of great value to us and to the country."

WOMEN VOTERS MAKE GOOD PATRIOTS

Out of 24 states which have returned full quota of recruits for the Army, 10 are suffrage states.

Of the remaining 14, five are presidential suffrage states. In 15 of the 19 states where women now vote, the men have been prompt to enlist.

Of the equal suffrage states, 78.4 per cent. have done their duty. Of the states where men alone vote, only 34.4 per cent. have met the Government's requirements.

Woman suffrage Idaho leads the Union in Red Cross funds. It gave more than 100 per cent. over its apportionment.

Men's Liberty Bond Committee of California says women shared 50-50 in the work of bond-selling. When the Women's Committee was formed the sale of bonds jumped 50 per cent.

Suffrage Summarized—At Home

JUDGE WILKINS of Warren, Ohio, has thrown out 10 of the 15 suffrage referendum petitions against the Reynolds Act filed from Trumbull County. This leaves only 250 names on the Trumbull County petitions, and eliminates Trumbull as one of the counties filing the necessary 3 per cent.

Ohio suffragists claim that they have found 40 cases of forgery on the Montgomery, Hamilton, Pike and Clermont county petitions for a referendum on the Reynolds bill. These counties are in addition to Scioto, Trumbull, Franklin and Cuyahoga Counties. Local suffragists also now charge that W. D. Fulton, Secretary of State, is holding up the return of the Mahoning County election board of the petitions backing the referendum. "The Mahoning County election board has twice requested that the petitions be returned on the ground that the board unknowingly made a wrong return to the Secretary of State," Miss Florence Allen, the well-known Cleveland woman attorney, is quoted in the Ohio *Herald*. "The Secretary of State has taken no action." The suffragists wish to attack the validity of these petitions, as they have those of other counties, but can take no action until the petitions are in the hands of the county election board. They threaten legal action unless Secretary Fulton acts soon. "A man whose name is signed as circulator to 12 petitions testified in the Trumbull County contest," says Miss Allen, "that he had circulated no petitions in Mahoning County."

RATHER a sad and decidedly a naive commentary was made upon Maine as the outcome of the suffrage campaign by a New York paper opposed to woman suffrage. "The W. C. T. U. and church votes were nearly solid for suffrage," said the paper in question, "and the antis say that a subsequent campaign can rally but little additional strength from any source as all these available were drained this year." The question that has arisen to plague the Commonwealth of Maine is, after you have drained the W. C. T. U. and church votes of Maine what grade of voter is left to the opposition? It looks as if by the Antis' own showing suffrage in Maine certainly lined up quality for quantity.

NO more is the married man of Washington absolute head of the family. He shares that post with the wife of his heart so far as the disposal of community personal property is concerned. Man was demoted from his high estate and his authority curtailed by a recent decision of the state supreme court, which held the mistress of the household has an equal share in the personal property and must be consulted before it can be transferred.

Under former decisions the power of the husband over community property was absolute, except that he could not will away more than half, the other half going to the wife at his death. He could mortgage, sell or dissipate the family personalty without the consent of his wife. The furniture could be sold over her head to pay the debts of a drunken husband. A judgment for a husband's wrong conduct could be collected from her half of the personal property as well as his. Now the husband is no more than an agent, the court has held.

THE WOMEN WHO HEAD THE EQUAL FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF INDIANA IN 1917.
Left, Mrs. J. F. Barnhill, Vice-President; Centre, Mrs. R. E. Edwards of Peru, President; Right, Miss Dora Bosart, Secretary.

THE Chattanooga Equal Suffrage Association opened its 1917-18 season with an official denunciation of the Washington pickets. Mrs. J. L. Meek moved that the association go on record as condemning the actions of the pickets. The motion passed unanimously.

PUERTO RICO has before it a "Bill to Grant Women Right to Office." The measure would deny the ballot, however, and is opposed by suffragists. Mrs. Anna Duprey, founder of the Suffrage League of Puerto Rico, predicting that the bill would not come up for second reading, said: "As the Pinero bill now stands it would only place the women of Puerto Rico in the most degraded kind of politics instead of giving them an opportunity to show their capability of patriotism."

FOR the last two months Virginia has donated to the New York State campaign the services of Mrs. Faith Morgan, chairman of the Hampton, Va., league and fifth vice-president of the state league.

Mrs. Morgan is a cousin of Mrs. Gordon Norrie, chairman of the tenth district, New York State, and is working in Ulster County. She devotes from five to six hours daily to canvassing, visiting and general propaganda work, and has already secured more than 600 signatures to a petition. On July 10 Mrs. Morgan brought in signatures to 150 food registration cards. She is an enthusiastic and indefatigable worker for the cause of equal suffrage, as well as for other good causes, and Virginia is glad to be so well represented in the New York State campaign. Mrs. Morgan will work in New York until the close of the campaign.

NEW HAMPSHIRE'S referendum in 1903 was left out of the count in last week's reference to the suffrage campaigns in New England. Suffrage workers recall that the campaign was under the leadership of Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Mary N. Chase of Andover, president of the New Hampshire Woman Suffrage Association. With Miss Quimby, secretary of the Association, Mrs. Chase was at the helm from beginning to end of the campaign. The vote cast was 13,000 for and 21,000 against.

THE forty-sixth annual meeting of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association is to be held in Des Moines, October 9 and 10, at the Savery Hotel, under the presidency of Miss Anna B. Lawther. The chairman of the Hospitality Committee is Mrs. Walter S. Brown, 2141 Grand Avenue, Des Moines.

Miss Lawther is on the Equal Suffrage Committee, part of the Committee on Legislation of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.

THE Louisiana League for Woman Suffrage, feeling that the time is ripe for concerted action, is calling upon the leaders of all suffrage organizations to unite in the common suffrage cause and help to organize a rally or public mass meeting for men and women during the first week of October. Dr. Julia Seton has been promised as one of the speakers.

ALTHOUGH by a decision of the Marion County Superior Court Indiana's grant of municipal suffrage to women was declared unconstitutional on September 17, arrangements are being made to appeal immediately to the Indiana Supreme Court in an effort to obtain a final decision before the November elections. This decision does not affect Indiana women's right of presidential suffrage.

Suffrage Summarized Abroad

THE time is drawing near for the final disposition of the suffrage situation in Great Britain. It is expected that woman suffrage, as part of the Representation of the People Bill, will get to the House of Lords in October, and it is not expected that the Lords will interfere with a franchise measure that comes to it so strongly supported.

In the British Parliament every bill has to go through the following five stages: (1) First Reading; (2) Second Reading; (3) Committee; (4) Report; (5) Third Reading. The present suffrage measure, which is one of 34 clauses in the Representation of the People Bill, has successfully passed the Committee stage, where it scored the overwhelming vote of seven to one.

During the past sixty years twenty bills to confer the franchise on duly qualified women have been introduced into the House of Commons and one into the House of Lords. Seven times such bills have passed their Second Reading. After a bill passes Third Reading it goes to the House of Lords, and if passed there it receives the King's sanction and becomes law. Important bills cannot get beyond the Second Reading unless the Government will allot Parliamentary time for their consideration. Contentious measures which require much time for discussion cannot get passed however much support there is for them by individual members, unless they are taken up by the Government. (Bills can be amended in Committee and Report stages only.)

WOMAN suffrage in Great Britain has not been a party question. It has been supported by members of all parties. Government, however, is carried on by whichever of the two great Parliamentary parties, Liberal or Conservative, has a majority in the country and in Parliament. The only party which, as a party, has supported woman suffrage has been the Labor party, and that party has never yet formed the Government. Consequently each successive Government, Liberal or Conservative, has included both suffragists and anti-suffragists and has been unwilling to bring in a Woman Suffrage Bill, although for many years there has been a majority in Parliament, composed of members of all parties, in favor of woman suffrage. Women have had therefore to work for private members' bills, that is, for bills introduced by members of Parliament and not officially backed by the Government. Such bills ought to have had a chance of passing if the Government had given them fair play. Since 1906 a Liberal Government had been in power. In 1910 such a bill, known as the Conciliation Bill passed its second reading by a majority of 110. It got no further because the Government refused time, but in 1911 it came up again and passed its second reading by a majority of 167.

AGAIN the Government refused facilities, and shortly afterward Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, announced his intention to bring in a bill for manhood suffrage in 1912, and in reply to the demands of suffragists, he gave an assurance that amendments might be introduced for including women, and that if the House of Commons accepted such amendments, the Government would include them in the Bill. This pledge was supported by the chief members of the Government and women were apparently given the best chance of enfranchisement they had ever had. The Government Franchise Bill passed its second reading, but in January, 1913, the Speaker ruled that the woman suffrage amendments were out of order. The Bill had to be dropped, as after the pledges given it was not possible to proceed with it leaving women out. No other bill could be introduced by the same Parliament because it was too late in its life for such a bill to have a reasonable chance of becoming law.

THE Government made no attempt to redeem the pledges it had given to women, and the greatest disappointment and indignation resulted and the Constitutional suffragists adopted the policy of supporting Labor candidates who gave sufficiently good suffrage pledges, with a view to strengthening it as a Suffrage party and to weakening the Liberal party which had failed in its pledges.

All suffragists were agreed that no private member's bill had any chance and that the only thing to work for was a Government bill.

Mr. Lloyd George calls the present measure a House of Commons measure, for which every section of the House of Commons is responsible; it is not, he says, strictly speaking a Government Bill, though the Government is using its machinery to conduct the bill through the House of Commons. The Government has, however, materially helped the woman suffrage cause by opposing wrecking amendments.

The point made by Mr. Lloyd George about a House of Commons measure may be of importance in case there should be a change of Government before the bill becomes law. If it were a Government measure it would fall through with the Government, but as it is a House of Commons measure, it would be possible for the succeeding government to take it up.

IN her speech opening an extra session of the Dutch parliament this month, Queen Wilhelmina again reminded the new Parliament of the almost unanimous declaration of the former parliament in favor of revising the constitution for franchise and reform. This includes woman suffrage.

"It is for the States General to decide whether the work thus begun shall be completed. No other measures will be submitted to you. Thus you will be able to devote your full attention to the questions arising from the war and preparations for the vigorous development of our country after the conclusion of peace."

THE increased importance which is attached to British women in view of their probable enfranchisement is already becoming evident. In the Enfield division of Middlesex a woman, Mrs. McEwan, has been asked to fill the office of President of the Liberal Association and has accepted. She succeeds Mr. William Grundy, who held the post for 21 years. Two other women hold similar positions. The Dowager Lady Nunburnholme is President of the Holderness division of Yorkshire Liberal Association and Mrs. Barnes of the Oswestry Liberal Association. Mrs. McEwan is, however, the first woman Liberal President in the home counties. Her appointment was admittedly made in recognition of women's new position as voters in the constituency.

MRS. SAMUEL HAIGHT, a former Minnesotan, is the first woman to hold a seat in the provincial legislature of Saskatchewan.

Welcome the Women

THERE was one feature of special interest to United States suffragists in the "War Times Election Bill" that has stirred up such lively excitement in Canada. It was the universal welcome given to the women.

The advertised intention of the bill was to regulate the national Canadian elections. As our readers are aware, in Ontario, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia women already have a vote for all the elective officers of those provinces. In some of them this carries with it the national vote, in others it does not. The bill which caused so much controversy was drawn up as a war measure, and its main object was to enable the Conservative party to carry conscription. It passed the House of Commons on September 15 by a vote of 53 to 33 and has been sent to the Senate which is also expected to pass it.

By this measure the wives, widows, mothers, daughters and sisters of overseas soldiers are to receive the vote, while aliens of enemy birth, not naturalized as Canadian citizens before March 31, 1902 are to be excluded from the franchise during the war unless they have grandsons. In addition the "conscientious objectors," communities like the Mennonites and the Dukhobors, and the individual objector, will also be deprived of their vote, on the basis of "no service, no privilege."

According to the census of 1911 the number of aliens in Canada was 752,732, of whom 470,927 were males, and of these more than 200,000 were people of alien origin. It is estimated that between 50,000 and 60,000 were males of voting age. To this number must be added the "conscientious objector," an unknown quantity.

On the other hand the number to be added to the voters' list by virtue of the womenfolk of the soldiers who will exercise the franchise, is estimated at between 400,000 and 500,000.

Intense excitement was aroused by this measure, but all the opposition had to do with the clauses that temporarily disfranchise the men. No one seems to have had a word to say against giving the national franchise to the women, except that the bill does not go far enough. The Liberals say that there are a large number of women who have devoted their energies to war work at home, including workers in munition factories, and who, because they have no menfolk in the expeditionary forces, will be victims of a great injustice. The press reports say: "This view is largely held by people of all political complexions." But no one is inclined to criticize the granting of voting powers to the female kith and kin of soldiers who have offered their lives in the defense of their country.

Whatever the ultimate decision on the War Time Election bill, the women of Canada are assured Federal enfranchisement after the war. Sir Wilfred Laurier and his followers have committed themselves to the principle that the vote should be given to all women. Sir Robert Borden is also committed.

It has been charged that the election measure disfranchises about 1,000,000 women who now enjoy equal suffrage rights under provincial laws. Woman's suffrage acts are operative in the Provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, but the Dominion authorities have denied that the women of these provinces are admitted, automatically, to the Federal franchise because their names appear on the provincial lists.

Suffrage for Soldiers

By Mary Sumner Boyd, Chairman Data Dept., N. A. W. S. A.

DEAR MADAM:

Of all the arguments of the opponents of woman suffrage in our South Dakota campaign, I found the soldier vote argument among those which carried the greatest weight. This was in effect that the officers of the regular army and navy as well as the soldiers and sailors, could not vote, therefore it was no injustice for a woman to be deprived of her vote and classed with the defenders of the nation.

Can you tell me the actual facts in regard to the franchise and the soldier in the various states of the Union?

Sincerely,

E. W. B.

On the subject of the soldier vote the War Department has this to say:

"The question as to whether or not a person in the military or naval service in the United States is entitled to vote while in the service is one that is decided by the state authorities. The War Department has always held that the matter is one over which the general Government has no control, and this Department has not undertaken to compile a statement showing what the requirement of each state is with regard to voting qualifications.

"It is understood unofficially that in some states soldiers who have resided there a sufficient length of time to gain a legal residence, are permitted to vote, regardless of the fact that during the entire time of their residence in the state they were serving in the United States Army. This Department has no official records to show that any soldiers of the Regular Army vote by mail, although I believe, from newspaper reports, that many states have a postal ballot."

It is not in reality as a soldier that in some states a man is not entitled to vote, though he has resided for the period required by the Constitution, but as a resident who is by the nature of his occupation transient, and in his interests actually identified with some other state. That this is the basis on which the soldier is in some states deprived of his vote, is borne out by the fact that many state Constitutions also deny the vote to students from other states.

The states whose constitutions provide that persons simply stationed in the state on military duty shall not be given the right to vote are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Louisana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Washington, Wyoming, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Ohio, Rhode Island, Virginia, New Jersey, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Missouri and Indiana. All but twelve of these (Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, New Jersey and West Virginia) provide that absence of their own citizens on military duty in another state shall not mean loss of residence for voting purposes at home.

The constitutions of Pennsylvania, South Dakota, New York, New Jersey and Michigan provide that when their citizens are away on military service "the Legislature shall provide the manner, time and place for their voting." You will remember the newspaper items after the last election in regard to the soldiers voting on the Mexican border. Where the method prescribed is cumbersome, and expensive facilities for voting are supplied by the Legislature only when large enough bodies of men are away on military duty to warrant the expense. Those who deplore the "cost of women's voting" regarded with perfect equanimity the expenditure by New York of $33,000 or $8.21 per vote to enable the soldiers on the Mexican border to vote. In one case an isolated vote is said to have cost $25.

The New Jersey soldiers appear to have voted by mail, which is a cheaper and more practical method. Michigan also voted by mail for Michigan is one of thirteen states, including Wyoming, Wisconsin, Vermont, Virginia, Kansas, Iowa, Colorado, North Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Missouri and Minnesota, where "absent voting" of citizens, whether military or not is provided for by postal ballot.

Kansas first, and since then the twelve other states have made voting easy by allowing absentees to mail their ballots. This applies in some states only to a few classes of voters, in others to many. It is the only way to make practical the provision in many constitutions that absence from state or precinct of soldiers, sailors or public officials shall not entail loss of citizenship. It should apply in all states to all enforced absentees; the voter often absent from home in the course of his work has always, in all countries, had a just grievance.

The commercial traveler has expressed this grievance more frequently than others, but there are many classes perpetually disfranchised by the nature of their work. Among these are actors on the road, workers in transportation, agricultural laborers, lumbermen, roadmakers or workers in many public works, workers in contract camps, those workers who migrate with the canning industry from Florida to Maine as the seasons change, other workers in seasonal trades, bridge-builders and many others in the building trades.

Some newspapers have chosen to make a joke of voting by mail, others have exaggerated its difficulties and possibilities of corruption, which are more amply provided against in the provisions of the mail-voting states than is corruption of home voters by local political machines. The problem of residence requirements, which in many migratory professions mean disfranchisement, is not an insignificant one, but one of great importance in a democracy. The great desideratum in mail-voting provisions at the present time, as in all legislation in the 48 states, is uniformity.

The fact that we have entered a great war puts all citizens potentially into the migratory class and makes the soldier vote, for the time being at least, the great argument for voting by mail.

To sum up the soldier vote in the United States: (1) 12 states deprive soldiers from other states of the right to vote; (2) 23 states do this also, but provide that their own citizens absent on military duty can vote if they arrange to come home on election day without previous residence; (3) in 13 states there is nothing to prevent soldiers from other states who have fulfilled the residence requirements from vot-

(*Continued on page* 315)

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General Federation Magazine

THE General Federation of Women's Clubs has finally purchased outright the General Federation Magazine, Inc. The August, September and October numbers will be omitted and the time of subscriptions extended to cover the lapsed months.

The business office of the General Federation Magazine, Inc., is on the twelfth floor of 40 East Twenty-third Street, New York City. The directors announce the appointment of Miss Helen Louise Johnson as editor-in-chief. The magazine will be edited from an office in Washington, D. C., the location of which will be announced in the forthcoming issue of the magazine. The president of the Board of Directors of the General Federation Magazine, Inc., is Miss Mary Garrett Hay, of New York. Miss Georgie A. Bacon, of Worcester, Mass., is Treasurer, and Mrs. William Pedrick, Jr., of Baltimore, is vice-president and secretary.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs is headed by Mrs. Josiah E. Cowles.

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Suffrage for Soldiers

(*Continued from page* 314)

ing; (4) a few states can make special legislative appropriation so that their own citizens absent in numbers on military duty can vote as if at home; (5) 13 states provide voting by mail for all absent citizens, including the soldier.

All this shows that it is not possible to say offhand that soldiers, even at the present time, cannot vote. On the other hand, if it were possible to say this, there would be no applicability of this argument to woman suffrage, for there is a special reason, whether unfounded or not, why the constitution makers feared the soldiers' vote. There has always, since the days when the military autocrat Sulla, gained control of the Republic of Rome, been a fear of the use that an ambitious politician could make of the soldiers' vote.

This fear is however, breaking down to-day, as the spread of mail-voting shows. The crying need of the soldiers vote is great, just at this time, when all the country is at war, when most of the nation's problems are bound up with war and those citizens actually in the field can contribute much from their experience to the solutions of these problems.

One American soldier at least who comes from a state which makes no provision for his voting, objects to disfranchisement, because he "doesn't like the company he is keeping with idiots, insane persons and those convicted of infamous crime—*except the WOMEN!*" He suggests a Federal war measure as the solution —"a Constitutional Amendment similar to the 15th, i.e., depriving the states of the right to deny the vote on account of either SEX or VOCATION."

The Other Stocking

By Julia E. Deane

THE Red Cross, the Allies Relief Association and all other aid societies are calling for stockings, particularly for hand-knit ones. The whole world is working for the soldiers in service and in hospitals, and hundreds are answering this call and are knitting socks early and late. It is a simple matter to follow directions and knit one sock, but the trick is to knit its real mate—for it's always the mate that proves obstinate. The natural inclination is to improve on the first attempt, especially as few of the directions are sufficiently explicit, and the keen beginner sees opportunities for alterations. The result is amusing, sometimes pitiful, and no wonder the soldier used "one for a helmet, one for a mitt."

The first sock is interesting because it is a fresh "field of labor" and the result is uncertain, but when the second one is set up the leg lengthens interminably and the zeal flags. One knits differently at different times, too, and in consequence of nervous energy, wide and narrow ridges of loose knitting alternate with tight ones and suggest confusion, so the second stocking doesn't correspond anywhere with its predestined mate, being more on the old piano leg style. This discrepancy may be absolutely avoided if the knitter will accept what I received as a heaven-born inspiration.

Get two sets of needles and keep both stockings going at the same time. Knit a few inches on one, put it down and knit the same length on the second, and the result will be twice blest, for not only will the ridges correspond in position and size, but the pair will be finished almost simultaneously and the anguish of beginning all over again for number two will be avoided.

Advice is usually thrown away because it is cheap, but for the sake of the soldiers in the trenches who is destined to wear what socks he can get, however uncomfortably mismated, keep both stockings going at the same time and send off a real pair.

The Impossible Happens

"NOTHING more radical could happen," writes a contributor from Boston, Mass., than the fact that Harvard should open its doors to women students. For the first time in the history of the University duly qualified women who are registered at Radcliffe College will be admitted to the Harvard Medical School. The need of doctors caused by the war is given as the reason for letting down the bars. Ten women applicants have already appeared. A few more were expected to register at Radcliffe and apply in the week remaining before the term opened.

But no very large class is expected, for the entrance requirements at Harvard Medical School are high and the time between the announcement and the school opening is short. Harvard's Dean says, however, that Harvard expects eventually to have as many women students as the other big colleges.

In most subjects the women students will be instructed with the men, Dr. Bradford stated, although the Radcliffe faculty may ask that the women students be taught separately in certain lines.

What the Maine Campaign Showed

By Rose Lawless Geyer

MAINE lost a splendid opportunity to lead the forces of democracy in the New England group of states, but the referendum gave the suffragists the opportunity to prepare the ground for the final victory, which will not be long deferred in the opinion of political forecasters. As in some of the other states where referenda have been held, Maine entered this campaign lacking in those essentials of preparedness required to insure a speedy victory, but it has emerged from the campaign well on its way to the final goal. Maine is now undeniably ready for woman suffrage.

The Maine campaign has demonstrated several things which had become clear to suffragists in past campaigns.

First: That an important element of the voting public is not yet in tune with the forces of democracy.

Second: That political collusions over which the women have no control have the major voice in the final decision.

Third: That prejudice and narrow conservatism are still stumbling blocks in the way of progress and form a big obstacle in the way of women's enfranchisement.

Fourth: That women do want suffrage. (Eighty-five per cent of the women interviewed in Maine so expressed themselves.)

Suffrage soil in Maine was practically unbroken before the campaign was begun. Suffrage leaders encountered the most violent opposition from all those forces which make it their business to fight suffrage. A campaign of this character served to prove the mettle of the suffragists and they came to the front in a way that evoked favorable comment even from the opposition. The opposition predicted a defeat of at least five to one, but despite deep-seated prejudice, the traditional conservatism of the New England voter, and the lack of time to complete a thorough organization, the vote was scarcely two to one against the amendment. This decision against suffrage was that of a small minority, scarcely twenty-five per cent of an electorate of nearly 200,000 being sufficiently interested to exercise their sacred prerogative of citizenship. Thus seventy-five per cent of the voters voluntarily disfranchised themselves at an election which dealt with a most important change in the state constitution. The presence of four other important amendments on the ballot was not sufficient to arouse the voters to their responsibility. Yet one of the arguments advanced by the opposition was that the women of Maine would not vote if given the opportunity.

A concrete proof that the women of Maine do want the ballot and would use it if given the opportunity was found when a petition was circulated among the women twenty-one years of age and over, asking the direct question, "Do you wish to vote?" The answer was an overwhelming affirmative. Thirty-seven thousand five hundred women stated over their own signatures that they did wish to vote. This was eighty-five per cent of the women canvassed in the few weeks available for this work. All sections of the state, all classes and groups of women were represented. It is but fair to assume, in view of the general nature of the canvass, that this same percentage would hold good for all of the women of voting age.

In their extremity the opponents of suffrage circulated a petition among women of eighteen years and over, ignoring the fact that a large percentage of the signers of these petitions would be ineligible to vote. Opponents even took the time and trouble to interview youths of fourteen years and over to gain their opinion on the merits of suffrage for women.

Complex political conditions contributed an important share to the adverse vote. Certain small but powerful political groups which have always opposed reform movements lined up solidly in opposition to suffrage, despite the fact that many prominent state and national political leaders gave their support to the cause. Notable among these friends of suffrage were President Wilson, who wrote a letter urging all Maine Democrats to stand by the cause in which they all believed, and Theodore Roosevelt, who made a similar appeal to all the voters of Maine. Governor Carl E. Milliken issued several thousand letters to Republicans urging them to support the amendment at the polls.

An interesting phase of Maine politics was presented by a prominent politician who declared in an address that Maine had a purchasable vote of from 15,000 to 20,000, and that one of the questions that Maine voters must decide was whether they preferred to have the balance of power rest with this purchasable vote or whether they preferred to have an unpurchasable electorate of 150,000 women added to the body politic of the state, thus swinging the balance of power back into incorruptible hands.

The length to which the opposition went is indicated by the fact that the leading Democratic paper of the state not only refused to print President Wilson's letter to Maine Democrats of the state as an item of news, but went so far as to refuse to permit the suffragists to pay for it to be printed in the advertising columns, making it clearly understood that no money could buy space for the letter. With practically unlimited resources this same editor entered the arena against suffrage and personally led a bitter fight against the women of his own state. In his enthusiasm for defeating suffrage this same editor, who is a political power in Maine, neglected to give proper attention to defeating another amendment to which his opposition was said to be equally as violent. This amendment gives to the governor the power to remove sheriffs who do not thoroughly enforce the prohibition laws of the state. It passed by a comfortable majority.

The press of the state, generally speaking, was favorable, to the extent that they would use suffrage news matter. A few fought for the women of their state in their editorial columns, notable leaders in this respect being the Lewiston *Journal* and the Portland *Argus*.

The good name and honor of the state of Colorado was again attacked by the opponents of suffrage, who attempted to advance their cause by gross misstatements, which were emphatically denied by officials and prominent business men of that state.

One thing that seemed to obsess the minds of the voters was the action of the pickets at Washington. Much valuable time which could have been used otherwise was spent in trying to undo the harm which these radicals were doing the suffrage cause. Maine suffragists were a unit in denouncing militant methods, but even this failed to set right the mind of a large element of ultra-conservative voters.

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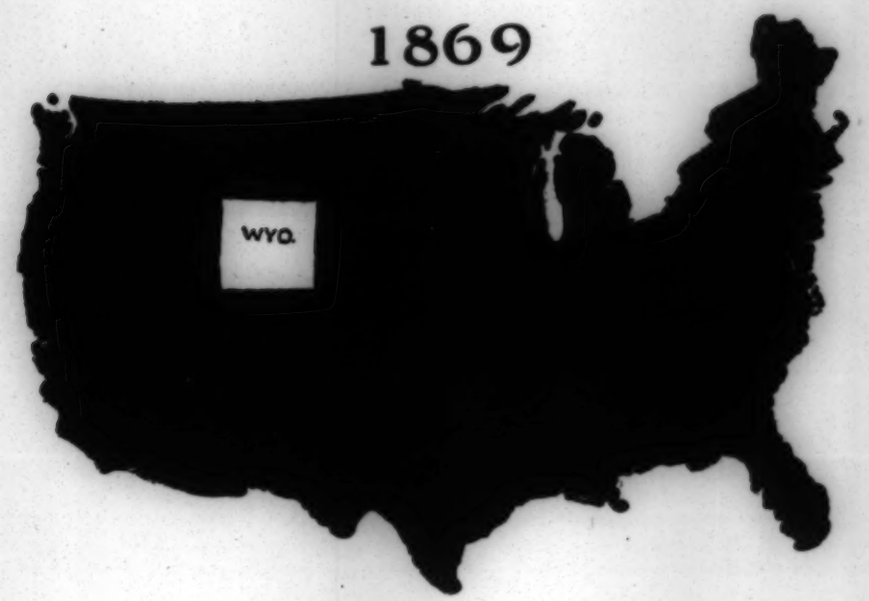
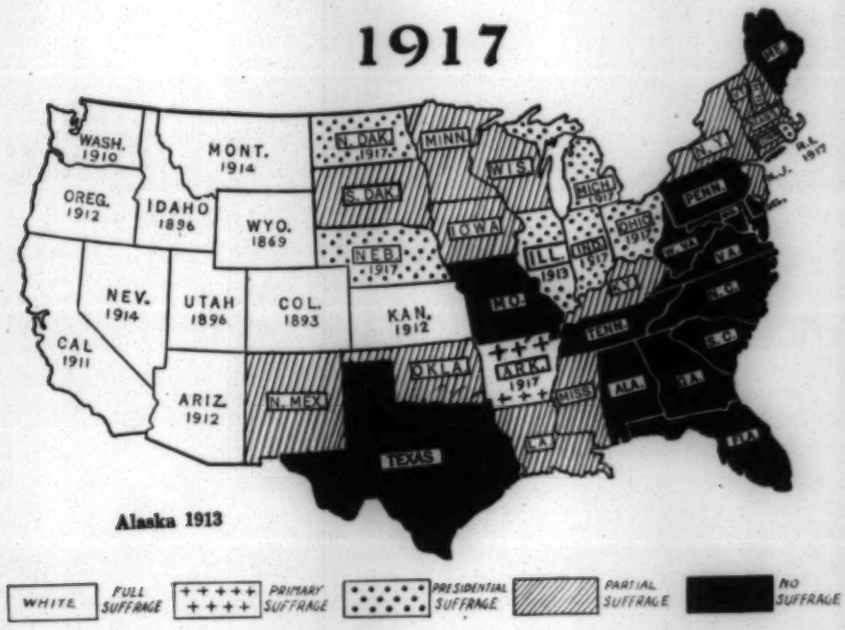


Things Looked as Black as This for Nearly a Quarter of a Century

Last Suffrage Map of U. S.



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To 1 cup of grits add 3 cups of cold water. In cold weather may be soaked over night, and require 15 minutes less in the cooking, which is an item of economy. Or may be placed all night in fireless cooker, and merely placed on the fire next morning to come to the boiling point. If placed on the fire at once, must be cooked not less than one hour. If water cooks off, add boiling water. If soaked over night ¾ of an hour is sufficient for cooking. Use own judgment and taste as to whether served quite thick or very thin. Serve in vegetable dish. Eat with plenty of butter, or gravy. Young children sometimes prefer rich cream, but not served with sugar. Others like it served as other breakfast foods, with thin cream and sugar.

Fried Grits

Allow what is left over of the boiled grits to form a mold. Cut into good sized slices, dip in egg, or batter (or not) as desired, and fry, just as you would left-over potatoes, with small amount of grease.

Baked Grits

Use 1 or 2 well beaten eggs to an ordinary sized dish of the cold boiled grits. Add sufficient milk to make the proper consistency. Add 1 teaspoonful of melted butter, or small amount of bacon grease. Salt to taste. Bake and serve hot, sending to table in dish in which baked.

Grits Fritters

Cut the cold boiled grits into small squares (or any shape desired). Drop, one at a time, into regular fritter dough, and fry in deep oil, or lard. Oil is considered less expensive, more healthful and makes a more evenly browned fritter. Wesson Oil, or any other good oil made from the cotton seed, is easily procured. By clarifying each time used, the same vessel of oil may be used for weeks or months, and but little be absorbed at each "frying." Serve as for any other fritter, or may be eaten with butter, taking place of vegetable.

Grits Pudding

Make as for rice pudding, using eggs (beaten), milk, sugar, and vanilla or lemon flavoring, with the cold boiled grits. If made rather firm, any kind of sweet pudding sauce may be used. Or may be made with sufficient milk and egg for a custard pudding.

Mock Fish

Slice cold boiled grits in pieces ½ inch thick and roll in flour in which there is a small spoon of salt and dash of Cayenne pepper. Fry in deep fat until light brown and crisp. Serve very hot.

Grits Bread

2 cups cold boiled grits, 2 eggs, 2 tablespoons butter, Crisco or Wesson Oil, 1 teaspoon baking powder, 1/3 cup flour, 1 cup sweet milk. Bake in hot oven.

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Corn Pancakes

1 cup corn meal, 1 cup flour, 1 teaspoon soda, 1 tablespoon sugar, 2 cups sour milk or buttermilk, 1 tablespoon melted grease, 1 teaspoon salt. Sift all the dry stuffs together, then add milk and beat hard. Last add the melted shortening. This will bake on an aluminum griddle without any further greasing.—*Mrs. Florence Meek, Redfield, S. D.*

Batter Cakes

1 cup of Pamunkey Mills meal, 1 egg, 1 teaspoon of Pamunkey Mills flour, 1 teaspoon of baking powder. Make up with sweet milk.—*Marion Harland, New York.*

Corn Meal Batter Cakes

1 egg, 1 teaspoon lard stirred into a tablespoon of hot mush, a little salt, 1 pint of milk or water, 1 teaspoon of baking powder, 1 tablespoon flour.—*Mrs. F. T. Foote, Kapleen, La.*

Spoon Corn Bread

1 pt. milk (sweet), 3 eggs, ½ level tablespoon butter, ¾ teaspoon salt. Heat milk, stir in meal, cook to a smooth mush. Remove from fire, add salt, and, when cool, the unbeaten yolks of eggs. Mix well; fold in the stiffly beaten whites. Pour into a well-greased shallow pan, and bake in moderate oven until golden brown. This should double its bulk. Serve at once. Dish with a spoon.—*Mrs. Ashbury Abney, New Orleans, La.*

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Add beaten egg to milk, and add to dry ingredients which have been well mixed.

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